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Croats EF4

his life. But his blood is not for drinking, nor his brains for food, nor his life to be taken away. Therefore they cannot remain here but let them go to' (the bottomless sea, etc., etc.). If the child really suffers from this disease the insects will all die and the child be cured.[1] (Perhaps a cure for scarlet fever in which nine lice from the child's own head are killed and eaten might be traced to a common source.) A similar cure is known in Bulgaria. The disease, or one recognised by a dark crust which forms on the scalp, is also known as *mlamosi*. It is treated in a similar way, by using insects (larvae) known by that name. The word is also the name of certain malignant beings that attack children. An exorcism for toothache found in many early Serbian and other Slavonic variants runs: 'St Peter was sitting on a stone and weeping and Jesus came to him and said: Why are you weeping, Peter? And Peter said: My tooth aches, Lord. And Jesus said: I forbid you, worm, to gnaw the teeth of NN or to return into his head....' The prayers in the Euchologion of Sinai, the earliest monument of the kind, have many examples of a direct address to the disease as a parasite, driving it out of the various parts of the body, forbidding it to gnaw, bite, torment, bellow, roar and so on, of which all are akin to, but many nevertheless somewhat less sophisticated than corresponding versions of the Greek prayers for the sick.

Among the Dalmatian islanders *izid* (bite) is an internal disease causing general debility. Fr. D' All Asta gives *guśter* (lizard) as an equivalent of angina, an inflamed sore throat, and describes its origin from a lizard which hatches under the skin of the elbow and whose tail reaches the throat, the glands there and the palate. This lizard has to be killed, and certain old women who understand the business used to rub the outside of the elbow very hard with a thumb moistened with saliva. When the place had well reddened and swollen they took a little fine pepper on the handle of a spoon and touched the back of the mouth and the swollen epiglottis with it. To

[1] S. M. Mijatović, *Narodna Medicina Srba Seljaka u Levču i Temniću*, S.E.Z. XIII (1909), p. 299.

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be divided into something like natural diseases and supernatural ones. The latter are called *vila* diseases, 'treacherous' (*neverne*) diseases, and diseases 'put on' (*nametnute*) by magic or the evil eye.

If one goes outside at night in an evil hour, or makes water at night in an unclean place (he should as a safeguard spit first three times) and after he fall ill, he is said to have come upon evil (*uradisal*). The cure at Libjahovo is to wash him with unbroken water and throw the water outside the house saying: 'From the dung heap you came, to the dunghill return, gentle and honied ones.' Or else let the unfortunate man take a cake smeared with honey and put it on the place where he thinks that he caught the disease to *appease the* '*urama*'.[1] Such offerings are to be made should one urinate under an old rose bush or any other tree, and afterwards be troubled by pains in the back and head and legs. In the Nišava district for this kind of disease (*ogradisanje*), the woman doctor (*bajalica*) sprinkles the place with sherbet on a sprig of hyssop, and at the same time beseeches those who have sent the illness to remove it *in return for this rich gift*.[2] Honey or honey water is the usual libation, and honey is one of the traditional offerings to the *vile*.

Namera is used rather in the same sense, as well as to signify an ill-wished misfortune or an evil eye. Diagnosis of these diseases can be made from the clothes worn by the patient when he caught it, or by bringing certain things—flowers, nails, horseshoes, a glass of wine, water, salt, and food—either to the spot in question or to trees commonly associated with spirits, such as roses, blackthorns, willows, etc. A prayer is generally addressed to the spirits or to the tree. It is common to leave the offerings over night, and if the next day they have been in any way disturbed, a leaf fallen into the wine or what not, it is clear that the man has been enchanted. The offerings can serve afterwards as a medicine.

Distinguished from ill-wishing and spell casting in the

[1] Cf. S.E.Z. xm, p. 445; Sb.N.U. (1926), p. 162; Gl.Z.M. p. 587.
[2] V. M. Nikolić, *Iz Lužnice i Nišave* (1910), p. 278.

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Bulgaria is *vihruške* (winds). In South-west Macedonia they are supposed to inhabit winds that guard their springs.[1] *Dobrinjica* is also an euphemistic term for a fairy, and also for certain pains. *Dobra* at Orhanie, in Bulgaria, is recognised by a swelling or inflammation and is cured by reciting an appeal to '*Dobrice*! sisters!' (i.e. the *Samovile*) which ends: 'The wind blew you hither, the wind blow you away!'[2]

The exorciser may refer to an alliance with the *vile*, as well as to the approval of God, the obedience which spirits lend her, and the virtue of her hand. Thus one declares: 'Our friends the *samovile* have sent us (to you). They raise their voices to heaven and spread their tears on the earth. Here it is filthy, here it stinks, here sows farrow, bitches have their young, mares foal....'[3] When a fracture will not heal it may be called a fairy fracture (*vilinski slom, vilovski ulom*—Croatia, Dalmatia, cf. *smlata*). It is fumigated with holy

[1] Cf. V. M. Nikolić, 'Iz Prespe', *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića* (1905), pp. 158, etc.; D. Marinov, *Vera i Religiozni narodni običai*, Sb.N.U. XXVIII, p. 33.

Feeding the wind was a custom known in many parts of Austria, including the Slavonic provinces. The winds were fed with flour, salt, corn, etc., sometimes on special festivals, and witches, who were responsible for raising winds, carried a paste of flour in a bag for the wind. These offerings are not only reminiscent of the offerings made by the South Slavs to *vile* and to sacred trees, etc., but to a practice of curing 'fear' (*strava*) by means of flour. This custom is found in Macedonia and Central Bulgaria and, may be, elsewhere. The seeress takes two handfuls of flour and touches her patient on the head, and then every part of him down to the feet, while she recites a spell which bids the *strava* to pass from head to forehead, from forehead to eyes, etc., down to the feet, and out at the toes. This is done three times. Then the seeress throws the flour either on to the hearth, if the rite is performed in the house, or against an old tree, if it takes place out of doors. The figure made by the flour is interpreted in the same way as the molten lead which is used for another cure for this complaint.

On the custom of feeding the winds, known in German as *windfüttern*, see V. Fossl, *Volksmedicin und medicinischer Aberglaube in Steiermark*, 1885, p. 61; J. Krainz, *Sitten, Bräuche und Meinungen des deutschen Volkes in Steiermark*, Zeitschrift für oesterr. Volkskunde, II, p. 307; E. H. Hoffmann Krayer, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglauben*, III (*füttern*).

[2] Ginčev, *op. cit.* Sb.N.U. III (1890), p. 144.

[3] V. M. Nikolić, *Iz Lužnice i Nišave*, S.E.Z. XVII, p. 277.

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the disease sisters. Male personifications of disease are more rare. The Bulgarian shepherds of Libjahovo have from time to time been plagued by *Dedejko* ('grand-daddy') who attacks their sheep in summer. A magician is then engaged, who goes from sheep to sheep shaking each in turn. As soon as he spots *Dedejko* he strikes out at him and falls to the earth as though dead. The shepherds throw water on him and revive him. *Dedejko's* blood is found where his stick struck a sheep, on its horns or on the ground.[1] The herdsmen of Bosnia have a similar enemy, *Kravosac* (cow-sucker) whose blood is many-coloured. When he can do so unseen, his chief pleasure is to suck the milk of mottled cows. The udders then swell and the cow often dies. *Ustrel* is another cattle or sheep disease which in Serbia (so far as I know) is not personified, but in certain districts of Bulgaria is believed to be a kind of spirit which rides on the heads of animals.

Diseases are said to be caused by winds[2] and to be carried in the air, for the wind is the element of many spirits. A certain class of skin eruptions, with eczema and erysipelas, are called black, red, white wind, etc. 'Keep the devils' wind from me' is a Hercegovinian saying (*Odbite od mene vjetar sotonski*). It is also said that wind blows strongly where human blood is spilt. Diseases said to come on wind are called—among other names—*dobrinjice* (*v. supra*). In an evil-eye exorcism comes the phrase: 'On the winds you came, on the winds are you gone.' Gusts of wind, particularly when they raise a cloud of dust or leaves or small stones are dangerous. They bring fever, for example. Rheumatic pains are caused by blood and wind getting mixed, or by being 'caught by wind'.[3] Wind is associated with chill, and hence the sharp pains in back and chest which may indicate an internal inflammation. It was said that winds had entered

[1] *Bajania, Vračuvanija i Lekuvanija ot selo Libjahovo, Nevrokopsko* (*nobliva G. M. Gornev*), Sb.N.U. xxxvi (1926), p. 163.

[2] 'Wind', of course, includes what is popularly called in England 'wind in the stomach', flatulence, etc.

[3] Cf. Gl.Z.M. xii, p. 128.

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tongue in water without salt, and the brothers take three sips of the soup. The rest has to be eaten by the sick person during three days: first the tongue, then the eyes, and then the brain. The carcass is taken by the redeemer and the old woman secretly to the tree. Arrived there, they cross themselves and say: 'Good evening to our NN.' The redeemer digs a hole, and the seeress puts the carcass into it saying: 'To the black earth we give: brain for brain, eyes for eyes, feet for feet, and the earth is to give us: health and joy, laughter and jest, speech and discourse to carry back to our NN.' The brother also repeats this three times and covers up the body, and on this spot they put the water-pot and the basil. They say: 'We kill you, we revive our NN.' After crossing themselves they return taking care not to be seen by anybody. Arrived at the house of the sick person the redeemer knocks at and kicks the door: 'Open the heavy gates!' The mother answers from inside: 'What do you bring?'—'We bring day for night, laughter for tears, jest for sorrow, health in place of sickness for our brother NN.' They go in to the sick person, who has to ask: 'What good news?' The redeemer says: 'We bring you day, laughter, jest, joy and health—here!' and makes as though to hand him these gifts, and they embrace.[1]

In another district of Serbia the doctress (*vračka*) chains the survivor to the cross of a nameless grave or fetters him at a cross-roads or to a grafted tree, and opening and shutting the fetters—the hopples of a horse—repeats the usual question and answer with the brother by adoption ('Do you accept', etc., etc.) three times. The sick person washes with charmed water and 'leaves the sickness behind him'.[2]

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In Bulgaria a stone of the weight of the surviving colunar was put into the coffin with the corpse, and the redeeming 'brother' lay down beside it. As he rose he said: 'I leave

[1] M. Milosavljević, *op. cit.* pp. 261 *passim.*

[2] T. M. Bulетić, *Narodna Medicina*, S.E.Z. XVII, p. 564; cf. footnotes, pp. 89–95. Cf. Miličević, *Život Srba Seljaka*, p. 339.

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you this stone for a brother and I take So-and-So to be my brother.'[1]

Redemption need not always be carried out by a brother by adoption but can be secured by the mother of the person to be redeemed or by a wise woman, e.g. by cutting a silver coin in two on the threshold and burying half in the grave of the dead child,[2] or by putting a stone of the same weight as the survivor on the grave, or a candle of the same length, or by fettering the living to the corpse or on the grave and releasing him.

CM [608] [755] [764]

The colunars can be separated while still alive by giving them the yolk of an egg to eat while standing on opposite sides of a stream (Macedonia).[3] The sick person and the redeemer brother are given a sugared egg to eat together on the threshold at Zagubica. In other rites the substitution is carried out by a fiction. While the dead child is still lying in the house, two candles are made to the measurement of the dead and the living colunar, and two bunches of basil are tied, one with red and the other with black thread. The living child lies down beside the corpse. A woman crosses herself, lights the candles and places them and the bunches of herbs at the heads of the children. She strikes the body and says: 'When you two see one another, then love one another.' She reverses the bunches, giving the red one which belongs to the living to the dead colunar. The other is given to the child's mother, who must keep it and never let the living child see it at any time. The same rite can be gone through, after burial, at the grave. The bunch of basil tied with black is left overnight at the grave, and the red bunch is afterwards buried in the grave. The living child is chained and padlocked to the cross at the grave-head. It is yet more curious that a willow tree can take the place of the dead child. Two sticks are cut, one to the length of the living child and the other to the length of the tree's shadow at mid-day. The rest of the rite, including the leaving of the dead

[1] N. A. Načov, *op. cit.* p. 68. [2] S. M. Grbić, *op. cit.* pp. 294–301.
[3] Cf. Sb.N.U. v, pp. 127, etc.

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B 755 608

In Bulgaria at the feast of the *Rusalje* or *Samovile*, *Vile*—the date varies, but Ascension Day will do as an example—on the eve of the feast a person suffering from a *vila* disease went to a field near water where the *Vila's* plant—*Rosen*, Dittany—grew, with someone of the opposite sex, who was willing to become a brother or sister. An offering of food and wine was made, and one of the flowers was balanced over a new vessel of unbroken water, beside which the sick person lay down and slept while the other watched. After one o'clock the flowers were supposed to fade, and the watcher covered the pot with a new cloth. The next morning before dawn the position of the flower was inspected to see whether it had been visited by the spirit and the sick person drank the water with anything that had fallen into it overnight.[1]

B [782]

S 755 769

In Bosnia[2] a person who had fever went down to a running stream with a coal from the fire and a piece of garlic, and called on the name of the last member of the family who had died: 'Oh, So-and-So! When you arise and light a fire from this coal and eat this head of garlic then may fever take hold of me!' and he threw the coal and the garlic into the water. (Similar rites in Serbia repeat the throwing of coals and garlic into water and a similar formula but without mention of a dead relative.) Or, having split a young willow branch and made a hoop of it or of a stem of nettle, he drew it over his head and off at his feet. Then he cut notches in the stem to the number of attacks of fever that he had had, counting: 'One fever, two fevers....' Then counting backwards he cut out the notches, and the hoop was hung up behind the fire to dry, just as in Serbia, after the redeemer has helped his brother through a rose-tree hoop, the latter is hung up in the chimney or under the eaves for forty days and after forty days it is floated away down a river or buried.

S 751 844

It is worth noting that one of the formulae for redemption occurs on other occasions. In order to preserve a new-born child a hole is dug in the ground where its head first touches

[1] D. Marinov, *op. cit.* 1; V. N. Čolakov, *Bulgarskyi narodn Sbornik*, p. 39.
[2] T. Dragičević, in *Gl.Z.M.* xxx.

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the earth. Then the 'head' of a spindle, a silver coin, a piece of gold and the sole of an old shoe which has been picked up anywhere are put in the hole, and the women say three times: 'Earth, Mother-God! I give you head for head, body for body, gold for gold, money to buy the slave from the grave and a sole for security.'[1]

Redemption may be one of the fundamental notions of sacrifice. In Thrace a black ram is selected to be the substitute (*namesnik*) of a sick man, and is killed and eaten ritually.[2] In the Rhodopes a black ram was tied to the corpse of someone who had died of a pestilence; its eyes were bandaged and then it was set free and driven into another village.[3] At Grlište[4] a black chicken is ritually killed and eaten by each household during an epidemic of dysentery and so on.

Passing to other sacrificial rites, to avoid confusion, I shall take as the criterion of a sacrifice a dedicatory specification or intention. All forms of sacrifice are known—libation; blood offering without fire; the laying of objects at a shrine; feeding to a creature or spirit; alms-giving; sin offerings; scape offerings; communion meals; and so on. Burnt offering is less well authenticated. There is evidence to show that burnt offering was probably known amongst the early ancestors of the Slavs, but the burnings of more recent date are doubtfully sacrificial. The early Slavs made sacrifice of men, animals, fruit, flowers, grain, honey, milk, etc., to the higher gods, the spirits of the underworld, the ancestors, and to nature spirits. Procopius mentions oxen and other beasts sacrificed to the god of the universe and of thunder, which Trojanović connects with modern instances of oxen dedicated to St Elijah and eaten communally. Sacrifices to nature spirits are of particular interest here, since with their cult popular medicine retains an intimate link. The Eastern Slavs

[1] Cf. M. Mijatović, *Narodna Medicina u Srba Seljaka u Leću i Temniću*, S.E.Z. XIII; T. Djordjević, *Učitelj* (1897); Miodragović, *Građa za narodnu Pedagogiju*, pp. 64, etc.

[2] Cf. Sb.N.U. III, 275.

[3] S. Šilkov, *Rodopski Starini*, I (1867), p. 13.

[4] S. Trojanović, *Glasni Srpski Žrtveni Obitaji* (1911), p. 39.

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Historical Bulgaria EE 2

The Eastern Slavs

had a sacred tree to which they sacrificed and where they made and registered vows, which recalls the South Slav custom of *zavetine* when the tree's roots are sometimes sprinkled with blood or a common meal is partaken of beneath its branches. The Vlahs of the Timok district in spring kill a lamb under the village tree and allow the blood to run into a hole dug at its roots. In the Bulgarian life of St Theodosius (from the Greek of the fourteenth century) a certain Theodorit, a follower of the Massalian (?) heretic Akindin, set up an oak-tree cult at Trnovo, where people worshipped and sacrificed sheep to the tree for the sake of their health.[1] An old South Slav gloss reads: 'Not only should the forms of idols be destroyed and razed and altars, that is temples, dug up, but no trace of idolatrous worship remain in any place or in forests or in oak-tree groves or in trees....'

Vuk mentions a ghost (*sjenovito*) tree at Grbalje, which, if anyone cut, he will sicken to the end of his days. He should therefore with the same axe cut off a hen's head, holding the bird over the stump of the tree.

When a sheep or goat died, if it had had young, the body was hung by Hercegovinian shepherds on a tree, and left there to decay, since this prevented more deaths in the flock, and also encouraged the fertility of the tree.

The legend of sacrifice to a pestilential dragon or demon is universal, and there are grounds for thinking that human sacrifices to lake and river demons existed amongst the South Slavs to purify a village or district. This is borne out by numerous local traditions of the kind.

In Old Serbia the guardian of lakes is believed to be a bull, to whom an offering of money must be thrown before beginning the sheep washing, and on this occasion the shepherds fire guns. There are innumerable local customs of blood, plant, money and grain sacrifices to streams for the sake of cattle or for rain and fertility. Sometimes images are thrown into the water or simply green boughs, and although these

[1] *Vida Žitia i Ecxn prepodob. Otca našego... Theodorija* in *Cimiv of Imp. Obščestvo Istorii i Drevnosti Rossii*, 1 (1860).

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may creep through a blackberry bush, or between two bushes growing near together, or under a branch the tip of which is fixed to the ground so as to form an arch. When I saw this done no prognosis was made after measuring and the thread was not cut.

The criteria of prognosis vary. While some say that if the two lengths are equal the man will die, others take it for a favourable sign. In the Lim valley a difference in length can mean that man is ill-wished. In several instances I noticed that the mere act of measuring was considered to be healthy or stimulating. In Lomsko district of Bulgaria the following incantation was recorded: 'If there is *strâ* (fright) do you get shorter. If there is none, do you grow longer. Let *strâ* come out of NN from his head and his ears, and eyes, and nose, and mouth, and teeth, and legs, and belly, and fingers, and heel, and go to the deserted hill.'[1] While speaking of measurements it may be remarked that a pregnant woman at fixed times measures her belly and predicts something about her labour, or the sex of the child. Head measurements had in the Middle Ages a legal significance, because the Turkish head tax was assessed by a measurement round and across the head, as a rough indication of maturity. Otherwise measuring, weighing, telling the age of a person, and other methods of identification are usually rather considered to be unlucky. If anyone is measured exactly he will soon die. A child that is measured will not grow. In some parts of Serbia when a tailor measured his customer he said: *Na zdravlje!* ('to your health'). Measurements are invaluable for casting spells, for love charms, for obtaining power over an enemy. The measurement of the imprint of the foot (or the imprint itself) will serve. Urinating in another's footprint can place him in one's power.[2]

I have already mentioned cases when measurements are used for redeeming a sick person from death. A friend informed me that, in Transylvania, it is a Jewish custom to

[1] Cf. Sb.N.U, xn, p. 143.

[2] Cf. a footprint spell given by Strohal in Zb. xv, i, pp. 135, etc.

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take the measurement of a recent grave at New Year and with the thread used for measuring to make a candle, but he did not know why. Sticks (of hazel or rosewood) are cut to the length of an epileptic and laid on a nameless grave for cure.[1] This practice is also probably connected with the redemption ceremonies. The measurement or weight of the owner of a new house was taken in stone, wood, or iron and buried in the foundations or under the threshold in order to disarm visiting spirits (Bitolj).[2]

Measuring is essentially a magical act, a directed act. The master builder 'measured' a stranger's shadow with his eye, as he passed by, and then immured a thread or stick of corresponding length. A diagnosis measurement is made of an absent person (Bosnia). When a child had to be separated from a dead colunar, as we have seen, the grave is measured or an arbitrary length taken to represent the dead. It is true that master craftsmen do accurate work on sight measurements, including the making of musical instruments, but in acts of magic the measurements make no attempt at accuracy, only the voluntary identification is precise.

A person in a fit is often measured or drawn round as he lies with a knife or a stick. An elaborate measurement for epilepsy is given by Golemanov.

Epilepsy (*Pripadčiva bolest, padavica, sarǫ, maraz, detska bolest,* perhaps convulsions) may have a variety of forms, as many as fifteen, but is universally treated on the following principles. The patient's total height and breadth are measured and two lengths of thread obtained. Parings from each finger and toe nail are cut, and tufts of hair cut crosswise (as at the hair-cutting ceremony), from five places on his head and the other hairy parts of the body, making in all twenty-seven points on the body, and all these snippings, together with the string, are carefully rolled up and stuck together in a ball of wax. Only then the doctor lets blood in the patient's neck (cf. p. 264), collecting it on a piece of cotton, mixes the blood

[1] Cf. Gl.Z.M. xxi.
[2] Cf. Sb.N.U. xii, p. 126.

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with *rakija* in a glass and makes the patient drink it. He is also given a potion made from herbs found near clean running water. The doctor is then obliged to carry out a special ceremony to dispose of the wax with the hair and nail clippings, partly to ensure cure and partly in his own interests to prevent the disease passing to himself. He carries the ball of wax to a lone pear tree, that is, a tree growing in the open upon which the shadow of no other tree falls at any time. He turns his back to the tree and, holding his hands behind him, makes a mark on the tree with a spit. He then turns round and cuts a hole in the tree trunk where he finds the mark, and once more with his back to the tree stuffs the wax, etc., into the hole. Throughout all the ceremony he must observe the strictest silence and secrecy. The patient's clothes which he was wearing at the time of his last fit, are washed with ashes and water and left for forty days hanging on the corner made by three fences, or on a haycock. When a child has a fit they measure him where he lies on the ground with a branch of wild rose, which they afterwards wrap round with alternate red and blue threads the whole length of it, and throw it into a river or well. They also give him something to look at, an egg, a mirror or a piece of sugar, which, if he looks at, they conclude that the evil has passed. With these, other similar rites of divining are used.[1]

Measuring is a cure for *zaduha*, *sipnja*, *krajčica* (at Žepče, Bosnia, a kind of chest cough). The patient is measured crosswise lying at a cross-road with a copper coin under his head. The measurer says, as she knots the cord afterwards: 'I have tied *krajčica* on to this string.' The string and the coin are buried where the sick man lay.[2] A yet more curious custom is found quite frequently. If a hen should crow (which some say happens after a certain time) it is a particularly grave sign of bad luck for the owner. The methods of dealing with it vary, but one is to take the hen and measure the

[1] G. Golemanov, *Materiali pa Narodna Medicina iz Gorno-Orehovsko*, Sb.N.U. xxx, pp. 6, 7, 8.
[2] Cf. Gl.Z.M. xxi (1909), etc.

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The theme of a fiery and a watery *Urok* or 'eye' may represent the trace of some definite belief now obscured. Either this belief or the imagery has influenced diagnosis of *Urok*. When the patient's urine is watery in appearance iron is used for exorcising the disease, with this formula: '*Urok* has two eyes, one watery, one fiery. The old woman has been to the hills and she has dug three holes. Let the watery *Uroci* bathe there. Let them leave the sick man.' When the urine is reddish, the operator takes a bowl of water and wipes the eyes and head of the patient with two fingers, saying: '*Urok* has two eyes, one watery, the other fiery. Granny came at dawn to drive *Urok* into the hills. Where *Urok* supped let him not dine again. But let him go to the hills. I quench fire with water. To save the sick man from *Urok*.' The water is then thrown behind the door.[1] With this one may compare the following method of divination. The plant called *trava od izida* is dug up at evening and placed in a bowl of unbroken water. If the water is red the next morning the person concerned is suffering from witch-bite (*izid*) and he should drink the water. If the water is found to be clear and not red, he is evidently under a spell, and should not drink the water but try something else.

'Sleep went to sleep, but *Urok* did not sleep. If he slept in sleep he came to himself. Two eyes, two evil eyes (*dva uroka*). One watery, the other fiery. I took the watery one and poured water on the fiery one. Come, *uroci*, along the earth like waves along the corn and the waters and the green grass.'[2]

Such themes as these, with ceremonial bathings, etc., will be found throughout the territory and throughout the popular literature of charms, etc., even in some of the earliest sources.

A very curious diagnosis is quoted from Bulgaria. When a man gets a pain in the small of his back or loins, a muscular

[1] The formula '*Urok* has two eyes' is probably the most widely known charm both in tradition and in written sources. For the version given here cf. Zb. VII, p. 13.

[2] *Ibid.*

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B 755 787 strain after a physical effort, they take the yolk of an egg and put it on his back and move it about with one finger until the yolk breaks. That place is then known to be the real seat of the pain and is rubbed with egg and bound up for a day or so. Eggs are frequently used in divining, and for divining when preparing to dig for treasure. Dark spots in the yolk of the egg are significant, generally of evil. In Turkish magical literature I have found numberless uses for eggs.

S 152 609 521 Caution in identifying and fear of envy are deep-seated instincts. Ask a peasant how much land he has and his usual reply will be: '*We* have *about* so-and-so-many days' ploughing', usually under-estimating. Ask him how many head of cattle or how many sheep in his flock and he may look as though, were it not for his natural courtesy, he would answer: 'What business is that of yours?', and perhaps shrug his shoulders and add that he does not know. Vrčević noted, and I also have seen it, that the shepherds, when they count sheep, use a switch of hazel or cornel wood. It is as much caution as the often over-praised corporative sentiment that will make a man refer to anything in the plural: 'Your field?'—'Yes, ours.' 'You are digging?'—'We are.' Such is his manner. He may genuinely dislike anyone, stranger or neighbour, staring too much at his beasts, let alone admiring

S 152 754 777 them. To a word of well-meant congratulation he may say: 'What harm have the poor beasts done to you for you to admire them? Go and admire your own backside.' Admiration (*čudjenje*) as well as envy (*zavist*) causes *urok*. An abundant crop, a tree that has borne exceptionally well, are regarded doubtfully. In these days of severe crisis in the villages, older men shake their heads over the bumper harvests of a few years back—nothing has gone well since. My mother when she used to laugh a great deal would say: 'There must be trouble coming for me.' It is children of particular beauty or goodness who are overlooked or shot by

S [825] *vile*. The mountain shepherds of Hercegovina and elsewhere will not kill a horned ewe or a ram with peculiar horns, or they keep a goat amongst their sheep. The leader of the flock

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fire is produced for healing, it is a good sign if it is made easily. If, after a number of trials, no spark is obtained or the dry grass, tinder or cotton to be lit does not catch fire, it is a sign that the sickness is not to be cured. At the same time, every precaution is taken to choose dry materials and fine weather. So it comes about that the act of divination may be considered sufficient for a cure and the rite is found cut down to the mere production of fire. As in an alternative noted in Montenegro, the victim of fire is advised to strike fire from two flints held behind his back. No other fire is laid and nothing is applied to the sores.

At Gospić for *kresavac*, a kind of boil (*kresiti*, to strike fire; cf. *kres*, need fire), sparks are struck over a bowl of water held over the patient so that they fall into the water. At Gablenici new fire was a cure for *strava*. It was made by fixing a horizontal rod about 50 centimetres long in two vertical supports, in which two small holes fitted the ends of the horizontal stick fairly tightly. A cord was twisted twice round the horizontal rod and worked backwards and forwards by two men, while another held a handful of tow at one of the holes. At Doce the apparatus was made of lime wood, and fire produced by means of a leather strap worked by one man. From this fire a heap of chips and rose haws was lit. At Gacko, for *krasta*, fire was struck from iron on an anvil, with a hammer. This cure was the monopoly of a gipsy smith, who charged a fixed price. The first sparks served to light a piece of cotton and this a piece of green homespun, some lime twigs, nine twigs of blackberry, and hips of the wild rose, and these things were burnt to ash. The ash was mixed with young fat and applied with a feather to the scabs three evenings running, at dusk, under the eaves.[1]

On another occasion I was told that fire was made by the friction of dry lime wood or oak (*Quercus cerris*) or simply to use lime wood charcoal mixed with fat as an ointment. New fire is made during epidemics among men, or cattle. At Nevrokop the apparatus is made of fir, and the fire makers

[1] E. Lilek, Gl.Z.M. v.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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Montenegrins EF5

B 372 755 should be twins, or the eldest and youngest brothers of a family. The horizontal and upright sticks should also be twins, that is, made of branches growing from the same root or axis, and dried for at least three years.[1] The instance M 372 755 824 which I found near Plav was for skin disease or epidemics. A large apparatus of the kind described above was made entirely of a tree struck by lightning and was set up in the middle of the village street. It required considerable effort to produce fire and was not often done. It was also apparently a rite adapted to the usages on which I could not obtain definite information. Trees struck by lightning seem to be frequently recommended. Of other woods cornel or dog-wood is the usual hard wood and lime the soft component, or ash and lime, or lime on poplar. However, it is possible to produce fire without using two different woods, and the most usual wood is lime, or where lime is not plentiful willow, and other woods are hazel, beech, juniper, spruce, pine. It is not clear that there are prohibitions, except as regards trees which are never used under any circumstances, but it is perhaps worth while noting that I myself only once found oak wood used even where it is plentiful and suitable for the purpose, and in literature it only occurs once or twice. Fire can also be produced by drilling an upright stick into a fixed, horizontal plank, or into a standing tree which has been struck by lightning, or into a door post, or by rubbing two sticks together. A search for a magical formula accompanying the rite has been unrewarded. In Lilek's description the gipsy smith is said to have mumbled something. In my S 372 [782] own observations I did not get as much as that. I have heard orthodox prayers, rather confused ones, being said while new fire was made by a family to re-light the hearth fire (Bosnia).

Live fire is obtained by the friction of wood, by striking flints, or flint and steel; by the refraction of the sun's light through a glass bottle of water; or it can be struck from iron.

Fire from wood is obtained by rubbing a stick over a flat

[1] Cf. I. Zahariev, *Kjustendilsko Kraille*, Sb.N.U. xxxii (1918), pp. 147, 148.

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village. These ceremonies to the best of my knowledge survive in Northern Croatia, the Dalmatian hinterland, Slavonia, Macedonia, in Bulgaria and sporadically in Serbia, and that mainly in pastoral districts. It is now not usual that the fire on these occasions is new fire. Divining is practised; the aim seems to be mainly apotropaeic and often specifically relates to health, or to prevent magic, or the attacks of witches. The ashes of the fires are kept for medicine or to promote the fertility of animals. Not only do these ceremonies change their dates but there is a tendency to amalgamate rites in which fire takes a part. Some authorities are of the opinion that the various fire ceremonials are ultimately of the same origin. Arnaudov distinguished two main types: one that is cathartic, and one that is exorcismal in aim; and among the latter he classed the celebration of the summer solstice, which in his opinion has sometimes been transferred to the spring.[1]

Mannhardt adopted from Kuhn[2] the identity of the need fire with St John's fire and attributed the same motives to the Roman Palilia. Prof. Trojanović, who has recently published a valuable collection of fire ceremonies, seems to follow the same train of thought, and elaborates the theme 'fire circle = sun disc'. He has sought his parallels, however, in Vedic literature, which cannot possibly give us a prototype on account of its date. The most striking similarity in the Balkan and Indian ritual of new fire is the inspection of melted fat, which the domestic sacrificer in India was instructed to gaze upon, and to show to the other members of his family. In one passage the ghee is called 'thunder'—a term that I am unable to explain.[3] These passages, however, refer to sacrifices to Agni, and I am not sure that Trojanović is right in regarding need fires as sacrificial, although sacrifices occur sporadically. The Indian ritual further demands

[1] M. Arnaudov, *Spisanie na Bolg. Akademia na Naukite*, IV, p. 30.
[2] Cf. Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 50, and Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, I (1875–7), pp. 519, etc.
[3] E.g. *Satapatha-Brâhmana*, III, S.B.E. XXVI, pp. 106, 169.

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three or five fires, while the characteristic feature of the ritual which we have been considering is the passing between two fires and through a tunnel or hoop. There are examples nearer home which are probably of more value for comparison. Among these, it may be that the little that is known of the Mediterranean cult of the Kouretes, associated with thunder and claimed by the Greeks to be the protectors of cattle, will throw light on the important part played by the twin fire makers. On the other hand, one would have to consider the fire cults of the Scythians, Sarmatians and other peoples who were in contact with the Slavs, and of whose customs we know comparatively little. Trojanović also connects circular ploughing with the fire circle, but in doing so almost flatly contradicts what he had earlier written about ploughing. He mentions an instance of a shirt woven and made in a day, as part of the paraphernalia of a need fire ceremony, which may be compared with the cloth carried round a village described above. This looks like an illustration of how ritual tends to be transferred or generalised. Trojanović also says that 'in all probability all *zavetine* arise from the day on which live fire was first produced'.[1] There is no evidence at all for this. The *zavetine* refer to every kind of need or occasion, and their origins are often distinctly remembered.

Swinging and turning may be a cure derived from, or influenced by, a seasonal ceremonial of a more general order, or part of a specific cult. The few examples that I have been able to find, either of a seasonal (spring) rite, or a special healing rite, are confined to remote, generally mountainous, parts of Serbia, Bosnia and parts of Bulgaria, and occur amongst the Kucovlahs. I have thus had the impression that to-day swinging survives amongst the pastoral people. It is sometimes particularly associated with St George's Day and the popular explanation is that it promotes health, hastens marriage or birth, or is anti-febrile. At Vidin, on the Monday before St Theodor, the dogs are swung to prevent

[1] S. Trojanović, *Vatra*, p. 169.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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swinging will be found as specific cures. Weighing seems to be a substitute for swinging, the balance being hung on to certain trees, and weighing itself was a cure for epilepsy.[1]

The practice of shamanistic healing through dance and possession occurs among the Vlahs, and has probably recently been adopted by a few Bulgarian and even by Serbian communities. These customs seem to be popular because they are easily assimilated into an existing system of ideas. They are found at the yearly festival of *Rosalia*[2] or the feast of the *Rusalje*.

[1] Cf. M. Milićević, *Život Srba Seljaka*, p. 288.

[2] The most complete account and a survey of the literature are to be found in M. Arnaudov, *Kukeri i Rusalii* (1920). See also M. J. Majzner, *Dubočka Rusalje*, Godišnica Nikole Čupića, XXXIV (1921), p. 227 *passim*; S. Zahariev, *Geografsko-istoriko-statističesko opisanie na T. Pazardžikęką Kazą* (1870), p. 78.